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Gladiator Succumbs!

The Grim Reaper cuts down Frederic O. MacCartney and Socialism loses one of its best fighters.

Haverhill, Mass., May 26th.—Social Democratic Herald, Milwaukee: Re-
spective. Frederic O. MacCartney, Socialist member of the Massachusetts
legislature, died last night at Rockland, of pneumonia, after an illness of eleven
days. The actual cause of his death was over-work, his activity in the legis-
lature and speaking and working for the Socialist party having hastened a
breakdown. MacCartney was serving his fourth term as Socialist repre-
sentative, having been first elected in 1899 and increasing his majority ever since.
He was both a legislative leader and as a lecturer for Socialism had
developed until he became recognized by the capitalist press and
public as a most formidable figure in Massachusetts political life. His popu-
larity with his Social Democratic comrades increased with the time and he
was in Massachusetts more deeply beloved and highly respected by his
followers than he. MacCartney was 39 years of age, and four years ago
was a Unitarian minister to the last, and the last public act he performed
was the marriage ceremony for National Secretary Mally at Haverhill on
May 15. His death leaves a place vacant in the Socialist party of Massa-
chusetts almost impossible to fill. His sincerity, his love of justice, his de-
votion to the cause of Socialism, his faith in the working class movement and
the future of the Socialist party, grew stronger with the years. He gave
his life to the cause and it should be remembered his devotion and his me-
mory live.



TO CHRONICLE the death of
a leader so prominent, so useful and
withal so eminently wholesome as
Comrade Frederic MacCartney is a
sad duty indeed. He was typical
of the new integrity which Social-
ism is bringing into legislative and
administrative office, the unwaver-
ing fidelity of the interests of the
real people, the drudges of capital-
ism. In the Massachusetts legisla-
ture he forced the sleek tools of
capitalism to pause and listen to
him, and the press, even though
hostile, had to testify to his sincere-
ty and the force of his position.
As an orator, MacCartney ranked
high in the Socialist movement, his
speech at Indianapolis in 1900,
placing Eugene V. Debs in nomina-
tion for the presidency of the United States, was a masterly effort and
will ever linger in the memories of those fortunate enough to hear it. A
servile press, of course, did not give the people of the country the de-
tails of a national Socialist nominating convention, but if it had,
MacCartney's words on that occasion would have ranked with any of
those made at the capitalist party gatherings of the year, and to
unprejudiced minds would have taken rank as a classic.

Comrade MacCartney was born at Prairie du Chien, Wis., Nov. 2,
1864, the son of A. R. MacCartney, later of Lancaster, Wis. He gradu-
ated from Iowa college, in which Prof. Herron was formerly professor
of Applied Christianity, and in 1889 entered Andover theological semi-
nary, graduating in 1893. In the same year he left the Congrega-
tional church to become a Unitarian, being appointed assistant min-
ister at the Second church, Boston. Later he became pastor of the
Unitarian church at Rockland, Mass., which was to be the scene of his
unsuccessful political conquests for Socialism at a later day, conquests
in which he turned the staid Plymouth Rock country to the new move-
ment. He was for several years secretary of the Industrial Peace So-
ciety. He maintained his pastorate for some time after becoming con-
verted to Socialism, but resigned when it was decided that he should
resign the Plymouth district. His later work for the cause is known
to our readers. He was a fluent writer and gave his life without re-
serve to the work of agitation. A brave, unselfish soldier has indeed
fallen!

It has been figured out that the
amount paid by the government to
the railroads to transport the mails
is equivalent to the interest of
\$2,000 per mile on all the railroads
of the country. That is what comes
from letting the thrifty capitalist
politicians run the government.

The New York state board of
education reports that hereafter it
will make a public investigation in
cases where it is not able to effect
settlements between capital and
labor, holding that public opinion
will then shame the side that is in
the wrong into a settlement. All
right. Labor is only too willing to
have the public know the conditions
it has to slave under.

When the Wisconsin legislature
met last week, the legislators
were all of restraint and indulged
their thievish capitalist instincts to
the extent of carrying off everything
they could pry loose, only the desks
and carpets escaping. Typewriters,
law books, etc., were carried
away in the scramble. Down at the
state house, we are informed, the leg-
islators left town accompanied by
numerous drygoods boxes full of
the loot. And these, gentlemen,
are the fellows that make the laws
that you have to bow down to!

A Japanese exchange informs us
that the price of rice is greatly in-
creased now that capitalism is re-
suscitating the production of rice
and that the price of this
commodity will regulate all other prices.
Oh, you can bet capitalism
and its ways, are international.
The international movement of
the people can conquer it.

Alas! The irony of fate! That
it should have fallen to Spoilsman
Payne to investigate the spoilsman
of the post office department is too
rich!

A constable sent to evict a fam-
ily in Chicago last week, handled a
woman so roughly that she died.
The majesty of the law these days
often clothes actual criminals. And
the law itself, being made by a class
to protect class interests, is a pretty
tough proposition itself!

You can be sure the investigation
in the post office department won't
reach far enough to catch the big
capitalist robbers that are bleeding
the system into bankruptcy by re-
ason of their railway mail contract
hold-ups.

The Evening Wisconsin says the
tanners' strike is unfortunate. Yes,
unfortunate for the capitalist class,
of which that paper is an organ,
unfortunate to have the public learn
what long hours and poor pay our
fellow-citizens, the tannery workers,
are getting!

A Dr. Vogeler, a student of
anthropology, claims that woman
is responsible for war. He says
that practically all man does be-
yond keeping himself alive, or for
pay, is done for woman. Woman
is dependent on man for protection,
he says, hence, is attracted by the
man who appears most valiant. On
his part man realizes this and likes
to dress in uniforms and gold braid
and go forth to fight, all in an ef-
fort to win the favor of the woman.
This explains why women like to
see men in uniforms and why men
like to put them on. And so Dr.
Vogeler thinks that before we can
suppress war we must get woman
to want war to cease. Woman
must learn to abhor war. When
she decides that war is simply
murder, war will cease.

Hearst has good old capitalist
gall. Now he claims that the
settlement of labor difficulties all
over the country is the result of
the stand his papers have taken in
favor of conciliation. By parity
of reasoning we suppose the recent
hitchhiking of the Moros was a re-
sult of his stand for imperialism.

Socialism is coming hot-foot.
People are now finding out what it
is, and so they want it.

If you receive this paper without
ordering it, it means that someone
has paid for it for you. No bill
will follow.

ROLL OF HONOR.

UNION SECRETARIES FUND.

Previously Reported \$306.30
W. W. C.10
Waukesha county list 1.30
Total \$307.60

OSHKOSH FUND.

Previously Reported \$5.05
S. S. Milwaukee 1.00
"Syndicate" Chicago30
Fourth Ward Branch, city 1.00
Total \$7.35

The following explains itself:

Milwaukee, May 25.—Mr. Chas.
Emmrich, Oshkosh, Dear Comrade:
Some of the readers of The Herald,
wishing to help establish Socialism on
a sound footing in Oshkosh, have con-
tributed to a fund for the purpose of
aiding you wage a campaign with litera-
ture in your city. The fund is still
growing. Will you kindly make up a
list of 100 names of workers who ought
to be Socialists and submit it to us as
soon as possible. We will then enter
the names in order on our mailing list
for short-term subscriptions, as far as
the fund will permit, and hope to ex-
haust the list in a week or so, so that
we can call on you for further names.

Sincerely and fraternally,
The Social Democratic Herald,
Per H. Bistorius, Business Manager.

Anyway, the Labor Leader of
Chicago is frank about it. Says
the Leader: "The political policy
of the Union Leader is strictly non-
partisan. Statesmen wishing to
advertise should consult the busi-
ness manager for rates, etc." It is
this sort of commercial non-parti-
sanity that turned the old labor
press into a political grafting force
that smelled to the heavens. It is
this sort of thing that Hearst is
counting on, particularly the "etc!"

The Philippine war has been en-
ded again! The Moros have been
defeated and the despatches say
lacked weapons, so it was an easy
thing for Uncle Sam's bullies to go
in and murder them. Anyway,
what right have mere Filipinos to
live, they are an "inferior race" and
the rulers of this country want the
room they occupy on the globe.
Think of all the millions spent on
christianizing the American people
in the name of one who taught the

sacredness of human life, yet here
we are, completely committed to the
butchering of human flesh!

Socialism presents some hard
nuts to crack for the person who
thoroughly investigates. You may
dodge the subject, but that is no
evidence of bravery; on the con-
trary it is an evidence of either
cowardice or dense sluggishness.

A Socialist institution that has to
be run by the capitalist parties
has a mighty hard time of it. Now
the post office scandal has taken de-
finite shape and Supt. of Free De-
livery, A. W. Meacham, has been
found to be a receiver of bribes to
the tune of \$30,000. Whew!

Only people who love freedom
can stand freedom. Capitalism, if
it has full sway much longer, may
make people contented slaves.

Henry Phipps, multi-millionaire
and philanthropist, arrived on the
Siberia, accompanied by his son and
daughter en route to New York from
a pleasure tour of the world, says a
San Francisco dispatch. That's
fine. Every workman who has
overworked ought to take pattern
after Phipps and go with his family
around the globe. He would come
home refreshed and rested and be
ready to knuckle down to work with
renewed energy. We understand
that Phipps took his trip without
having done any hard work, but as
the Declaration of Independence
guarantees the right of the "pursuit
of happiness," we suppose he was
simply exercising his right.

From everywhere come words of
enthusiasm for the Socialist ad-
vance. We are a great army with
a great mission. Our comradeship is
of the shoulder to shoulder sort, the
like of which the world has never
seen.

"Michigan politicians have creat-
ed an election law that is meant to
kill off minority parties. Candidates
are compelled to pay a certain per-
cent of salaries, whether elected or
not, before their names are placed
on official ballot. In Detroit alone
it will cost a minority party \$1,500
to place a complete ticket in the
field."

So says a newspaper despatch. It
is only one of many efforts that will
be made to crowd the poor man
away from the political rights. As

LABOR UNIONS NECESSARY.

WE HAVE ENTERED upon an era of strikes—as is usually the case in
a period of capitalistic prosperity. The trades unions have been strengthened
during the last few years of the workers naturally ask for a little larger
share of the wealth which they have created.

And now we also hear the claim that "prosperity" is going to the demoli-
tion how-hows on account of the greed, the selfishness and the love of luxury
of workers. To the average employer whose workmen are out on a strike
the trade-union seems to be a veritable invention of the devil himself. And
his manager, his bookkeeper and also his customers—the shopkeepers of any
class—while always talking against the "capitalists" and especially against
the "corporations," are only too willing to take side against the trades-union-
ists, whom they are wont to describe as "traitors to business."

And that claim is not even new.
The ruling class has always claimed that the resistance of the subjugated
class was running the business of the rulers.

The feudal lords of the early Middle ages made this complaint against
the serfs, the patricians in the cities, against the simple hurgers and trades-
men; the tradesmen against journeymen. Since capitalism came upon the
stage we hear and read of the same charge against the modern wage-earner.
And as in the past so now the governing class is anxious to use the machinery
of the law against the working class or not to use it, as suits the convenience
of the rulers at any particular time.

The experience of all nations teaches us that those had conditions of labor
which manufacturers are usually most anxious to retain have caused their
backwardness. For instance, they fought high wages and short hours and do
so even now. The American manufacturer, Jacob Schoenhof, in his "Economy
of High Wages" shows us that in consequence of the use of machinery the
labor, which used to be paid \$10.75 in the Massachusetts clock factory, was
cheaper than the labor paid \$2.50 or 3 dollars at Trieburg in the Black Forest.
To the European who congratulates himself on Adam Smith's illustration of
the advantages of division of labor in the "home industry" of needle making,
by means of which ten workmen daily produce 48,000 needles, Schoenhofen
points out a needle factory in Connecticut where five workmen, by means of
machines, daily turn out 7,500,000, in the value of which the high wages paid
to the workmen are an element not worth considering.

But certainly we do not expect the capitalist class to listen to reason, when-
ever the rights of the wage workers and the pocketbooks of employers are in
conflict. Yet if the employing class is so different now, what is to happen in a
few years when this dazzling period of capitalist prosperity has come to a
close and dreary stagnation will be the rule of the industrial world?

And here is the vulnerable place of the capitalist system—and also of
the trades unions. We may one day find ourselves face to face with the hard
fact that trades unions are inadequate—that we still have to use the ballot
entirely in order to combat the capitalist system—to consider our political
freedom as the first installment of the economic freedom. We will have to
do so, because we cannot remain politically free unless we become economi-
cally free. But the trades unions will play an important part until the next
stage of civilization—until Socialism.

Victor L. Berger.

long as the working class did not
make use of their class strength, the
plutocrats were willing to let them vote!

According to the Pueblo Courier
the state of Arkansas made the Iron
Mountain railway a present of
3,000,000 acres of the richest land
of the state free of cost. Now the
railway is selling the land back to
the very people that gave it to it at
from \$2.50 to \$10 an acre. If the
state, observes the Courier, had sold
the land itself at an even price of

\$5 an acre it would have had the
nice little sum of \$15,000,000, with
which to build its own railway.
Capitalistic financiering is a thing
hard to comprehend by ordinary in-
tellects, you know!

Here is the old style trade union
ist method, according to the Ameri-
can Labor Union Journal: "Work
together, strike together, starve to-
gether, and vote against each
other!" That's about it.

FATHER HAGERTY FLAYS A MILLIONAIRE-WORSHIPPER!

THE REV. DANIEL O'CONNOR A FEW
days ago told his con-
gregation in St. Agatha's Church, Thirty-
eight and Spring Gar-
den Streets, Philadel-
phia, that "the work-
ingman must depend
upon his employer.
If he ruins his em-
ployer he destroys his own means
of living and distresses his wife and
children. If we had no rich men,
no millionaires, no wealthy corpora-
tions, there would be no employ-
ment for the workingman, and
starvation in a few months would
annihilate the human race."
Disraeli's characterization of
Kremlin fits the Reverend O'Con-
nor as neatly as a rubber glove finds
every crease in the knuckles of a
surgeon: "Mr. Kremlin was dis-
tinguished for ignorance; for he
had only one idea, and that was
wrong." Father O'Connor has only
one idea, which he holds in common
with Parry and the National Eco-
nomic League, and that is so wrong
that all the sophists of Greece could
not twist it into the remotest
semblance of right.

Follow this wrong in all its
crooked windings and we must con-
clude that, if we had no million-
aires, the busy little bee would be
stricken by a paralysis of inactivity
and, in default of Morgans and
Vanderbilts, would forevermore
cease the storing away of succulent
honey to tantalize the papillae of
men's tongues. A vast lock-out
would be proclaimed in Nature's

workshops. The enormous output
of oxygen and carbon, of sulphates,
chlorides and phosphates would
stop short. Millions of infusoria
would find no more floating food-
particles for their tiny cilia to
draw into the mouth and accumu-
late in the ciliary vortices at the
bottom of the oesophagus. Wheat
and corn, fruit and vegetable would
no longer receive their daily supply
of chlorophyll from the laboratories
of the soil, and earth's verdure
would disappear in one wide Sa-
hara of death. The ploughshare
would cut mere sand in endless
mockery of all things which erst-
while grew green and fragrant from
the moist under earth. The clouds
would no more
"bring fresh showers for the thirst-
ing flowers
From the seas and streams;
Nor bear light shade for the leaves
when laid
In their noonday dreams."

If the wealthy corporations
which derive their wealth from the
labor of the workingman should be
wiped out, the great deposits of coal
in Pennsylvania together with all
the iron, copper, and lead would
quickly fade into that mysterious
Nirvana where the woodbine
twines. If the stock manipulators
of Wall Street should desert the
maris of exploitation, the countless
flocks of sheep upon our Western
ranges would forthwith become as
bare of wool as a Mexican hairless
dog. The humble potatoe and the
haughty cucumber, like Dead Sea
fruit, would turn to ashes on the lip
if the American Tobacco Trust

should withdraw from this conti-
nent; and the gentlest zephyrs
which come shyly forth from the
Pines with balm for stifled lungs
would change into deadly winds
carrying the Bubonic Plague into
every workman's home, if the
National Biscuit Company should
cease to rob labor of four-fifths of
the product of its toil. Without
millionaires, all fertility would end
in bird and beast and grain; and
this poor old globe, deprived of
Baer's divine piloting, would be-
come
"A pathless comet, and a curse
The menace of the universe;
Still rolling on with innate force,
Without a sphere, without a course,
A bright deformity on high,
The monster of the upper sky!"

Without millionaires, the Gospel
might again be preached in all its
pristine purity and simple work-
man, like the Christ and his
Apostles, might have an opportu-
nity to proclaim their dangerous doc-
trines of the brotherhood of man.
If we did not have millionaires and
wealthy corporations to seal the lips
of priests with gold and to buy their
silence with railroad passes and
rides in sumptuous private cars,
there is a dangerous likelihood that
many pulpits would resound with
the thunders of St. James' Epistle:
"Go to now, ye rich, weep and howl
in your miseries, which shall come
upon you. Your riches are corrupt-
ed; and your garments are moth-eaten.
Your gold and silver is cankered;
and the rust of them shall be for a
testimony against you, and shall eat
your flesh like fire."

You have stored up to yourselves
wrath against the last days. Be-
hold the hire of the laborers, who
have reaped down your fields, which
by fraud has been kept back by you,
crieth; and the cry of them hath
entered into the ears of the Lord
of Sabaoth."

If the Standard Oil Co. should
dissolve and the Rockefellers and
Flaglers be reduced to the ranks of
toil, all the oil wells would stop
flowing and the tanks break into a
powdery oxide of iron scattering
along the deserted highways of a
forgotten civilization. If the
workingman ruins his employer,
fire will burn no more and steam
and electricity fail to be generated
in all the land. If the workingman
refuses, in overwhelming force at
the ballot box, to give the bulk of
the product of his labor to finance
monkey dinners at Newport, build
million-dollar palaces for a few
gilded prostitutes on Fifth Avenue
and buy syphilitic dukes for the
daughters of his employer, starva-
tion will annihilate the human race
in a few months.

Verily, a Saul has arisen among
the prophets; an O'Connor hath
untied the Gordian knot of the
world's production! Away with
Marx, Engels and Bebel! To the
lowest pit of Sheol with those who
dare question the divine and ever-
lasting function of the millionaire!
Out upon heretics like St. James,
St. Ambrose, St. John Chrysostom,
St. George the Great and all who
condemn the sacred system of pro-
fit-making! Let the Church in
Philadelphia put on sack-cloth and

ashes: for lo! this modern Jonah is
sent to warn the faithful that when
Socialism comes there will be no
employment for the workingmen
and starvation will in a few months
annihilate the human race.

If the perpetuity of the race de-
pends upon the continuance of mil-
lionaires and wealthy corporations,
and upon the bounty of employers,
there is no reason why the work-
ingmen of Father O'Connor's parish
should pay pew-rent or contribute
to the Christmas and Easter col-
lection or purchase bazaar tickets.
This, manifestly, is the duty of the
millionaire. All the union men of
his parish ought to refer him to
their employers whenever he calls
upon them for church contribu-
tions. He is serving the interests
of the Capitalist class and preach-
ing the gospel of Mammon: let him
get his support from the millionaire
and not from the working class.
If every class-conscious workman
in this country would absolutely
refuse to contribute a penny to
the support of the priests and min-
isters who preach against the inter-
ests of the working class, there
would be fewer O'Connors, Sher-
mans, and Hillises. As a matter
of fact, the majority of the churches
are kept up by the workingmen
rather than by the capitalists. A
little systematic boycotting, with
special reference to material sup-
plies, will have quite a Marxian ef-
fect in stimulating study along So-
cialist lines on the part of these
churchmen.

Thos. J. Hagerty.
Van Buren, Ark., May 17.

An Alabama man has been ar-
rested for keeping negroes in serv-
itude. He worked them during the
day and locked them up at night.
That's awful, eh? Locked 'em up
at night. You never heard of
white people being locked up to
servitude, did you? No, the white
slave pens called factories and mills
never lock their workers in, do
they! The government might in-
terfere, you know!

Perhaps it is true that we Social-
ists are somewhat fanatical. Fana-
ticism when not too extreme is need-
ed to win great causes. We are cer-
tainly not ashamed of the fact that
we can not be corrupted, or turned
aside from our purpose by the tempta-
tions of the worlds and its evils.

"Neither the labor agitators, the
'proletariats,' the ecclesiastics, those
who are seeking to arrange arbitra-
tion meetings, nor the press have
any idea of the tremendous move-
ment that is under way among all
classes of employers all over this
country."

This is what Parry said to the
reporters in New York, the other
day, where his organization was
holding an executive meeting. That
Parry is a loud-mouthed ignoramus
is again shown by his "prole-
tariats," a coinage that even an or-
dinary workman could tell him is
a monstrosity.

A Kansas insane asylum has in-
stalled the "water cure" form of
discipline; but then Kansas was
Freddie Funston's state, we believe.

Are you getting a bundle each
week? If not, what's your excuse?

A Millionaire Lumberman brought to Book in Minneapolis.—He even Claimed the Indians were Socialists!

Minneapolis Socialists are in
possession of a debate held last
week in which Comrade Carl D.
Thompson demolished the argu-
ments of a millionaire lumberman.
Mr. Walker. Mr. Walker
knew a thing or two
about economics and political eco-
nomics and he made an address
recently before the
ministers who highly
prized his views, according to
the reports.

He addressed before our local
organization, and to our astonish-
ment he gladly consented. We then
arranged to have Comrade Carl D.
Thompson present. On account
of the prominence of Mr. Walker,
the daily press gave us good an-
nouncements and our hall was
crowded to the doors. After telling
how the Indians had tried Social-
ism and made a failure of it, and
how the laborer was better off than
he ever was, and what a hard time
the capitalists were having, etc.,
all of which the audience took as a
good joke, Comrade Thompson re-
plied in a masterful oration that
carried the crowd by storm. The
misconceptions and fallacies of Mr.
Walker were shown with clearness

and logic, and the economic truths
of Socialism were represented with
telling effect. After the close Mr.
Walker was given thanks for his
attempt, and indeed all Socialists
everywhere should feel indebted to
him, as he has done more for the
cause than any Socialist could have
done.

"Capitalist meets Socialist," the
Minneapolis Times gives a report
of the encounter, from which we
make the following excerpts:
"T. B. Walker, the Minneapolis lum-
berman, yesterday addressed the Social-
ists upon the subject of the 'Imprac-
ticability of Socialism.' At the con-
clusion of his address, Rev. Carl D.
Thompson of Lincoln, Neb., replied. He
said it was the first time he had ever
heard a capitalist speak before a body
of Socialists and paid tribute to the
sincerity of Mr. Walker.
"Mr. Walker's arguments were to the
effect that Socialism was impracticable
inasmuch as it prevented individualism.
He pointed to the Indians who main-
tain tribal relations as an example of
the results of Socialism. Socialist col-
onies and communities had always
proved failures. Mr. Thompson asserted
that Socialism was nothing of the sort.
He denied that it was impracticable,

and asserted that the so-called com-
munist colonies which had failed were
in no sense Socialistic associations.
Mr. Walker said in part:
Socialism among the Indians.
Socialistic views of society have ex-
isted among men from the earliest ages.
There seems to be a general sentiment
in favor of common ownership and
equal distribution of all natural or in-
dustrial products. The practice of So-
cialism is found fully in practice or as
much so as it can be put to practice
among the Indians.
In those nations where the greatest
individualism exists and the greatest
fortunes are found, both the industrial
and social production is greatest. An
immensely larger output is distributed,
not amongst the wealthy few, but
amongst the mass of the people. So-
cialism is a possibility only in theory.
In practice, so far as it has ever been
tried, it is an utter and absolute failure.
He held that the great holdings of the

wealthiest men in the commonwealth
were only really clerkships.
Mr. Walker then arrived at the con-
clusion that wages and salaries received
over 90 per cent of the production and
that the great mass of all that was
produced is annually distributed be-
tween all classes of people.

THOMPSON'S REPLY.
In replying to Mr. Walker, Mr.
Thompson said most of the objections
arose from a misapprehension of the
Socialistic position, which he defined as
follows:
The collective ownership of the
greater material means of production
and distribution.
The co-operation and systematic ar-
rangement and operation of the econ-
omic and industrial life.
The democratic control and operation
of industry.
Private property in personal income.
An independent political party dis-

ting from all capitalistic parties to
capture the powers of government in
order to put the above principles into
operation.
He said it was a notorious fact that
the steady and rapid concentration of
capital in the hands of the few
proves that the capitalistic class is
getting more than its due share. Con-
tinuing he said:
Recent widely circulated reports
showed the steel trust dividends for a
single year to have been \$112,000,000;
of the meat trust, \$110,000,000; of the
oil trust, millions more; the coal trust,
millions more, etc. How can you ask
us to believe that this capitalist class is
not getting enormous unearned incomes
when every day before our eyes is
haunted by the spectacle of want
wealth, luxurious ease and even in ex-
treme cases, disgusting extravagance?
Meanwhile the average wages, accord-
ing to government reports, for the
(Continued on page 4.)

THE PROSPERITY MAKERS: OR THE TRAGEDY OF A MUSHROOM TOWN.

BY A WELLKNOWN AUTHOR (NAME WITHHELD).

The Building of an American Boom Town is typical of capitalist enterprises and daring. Sometimes the builders "make good," and sometimes they don't, and many go down in the crash.

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The old man would have thrown himself on the window.

CHAPTER XI.—In which a man with a warrant appears on the scene.

After dinner Duncan went in search of the old mountaineer and Thorndyke shut himself in his room to finish the letter he began the previous evening. He went about it leisurely, placing the table in front of it, open window and sitting where the sweet afternoon breeze might blow in his face as he wrote. Between the sentences he stopped often, weighing and turning the words until they fitted his purpose; which was to make this latest letter to his mother as one with the preceding. This preserving of the letter proved to be less difficult than he had thought it would be. The new determination was not a snaking as yet, and the turning of a fresh leaf in the book of reasoning. In any event, only a beginning. Besides, one's mother is always the first to accept a show of frankness as a substitute for the real quality, and Mrs. Thorndyke would have found reasons for refusing to believe Philip if he had told her the plain truth.

The window in the attic bedroom looked out upon the stretch of yellow road leading to Allacoochee, and in one of the inter-verse pauses Philip saw two horsemen ride over the crest of the spur which shut off the view of the lower valley. They halted among the trees on the hillside, and one of them pointed to the farmhouse, while the other took something from his pocket and went through the motions of a man drinking from a bottle. Philip watched them listlessly until, at the end of a full minute, his curiosity awoke to comment upon the phenomenon of the man who still sat like an equestrian statue with arm bent and head thrown back. There was a field-glass hanging in its case on the wall, and when Philip took it down and focused it upon the stately horseman the mystery speedily took another form. The man was not drinking; he was examining the house and the adjacent mountain through a glass not unlike the one in whose field Philip was observing him.

Thorndyke's first thought was of Kilgore and his persecutors, but before he could form a plan for warning the old mountaineer the two horsemen rode down to the house, and he heard one of them ask Mrs. Duncan if the road led to Alta Springs, a village on the western slope of John's mountain. Since this question appeared to explain the reconnaissance, Philip let his suspicions lapse, and straightway forgot the incident when the travelers had ridden on. He had finished his letter and was beginning to wonder if Duncan would succeed in finding Kilgore, when he heard voices below, followed by stumbling footsteps on the stairs, and Duncan entered with the old mountaineer.

"This is said John's Keelgore, Master Thorndyke," he said, presenting his companion with a perpendicular gesture which seemed to call attention to Kilgore's great height. "I just made free to fess him till yer ain room, whar ya could hae it out w' him in private."

"That was right—I'm glad to meet you, Mr. Kilgore. Sit down, both of you, and let me ask a few questions."

The mountaineer folded his thin

length upon the edge of a chair, but Duncan stood irresolute. "I'm no savor rash, myself, Master Thorndyke, as ya kin, but said John's here in a mair cap'ous than the canniest Scot o' them a'. If ye think, now, in wina set foot in this house till he makes me promise to pit mysel' on guard as the doorman!"

Duncan's dissatisfaction with any arrangement that excluded him from a share in the conference was very evident, but Thorndyke judged wisely that his client would be less embarrassed if the inquisitive Scot were out of the way, and he commended the precaution.

"It's well enough to be careful, Mr. Duncan; we're not likely to spoil our chances of success by being over-protective."

"That's gude, sae as John's, man?" said Duncan, forgetting for the moment that he had been arguing on the other side of the question. "Ye maun just open yer min' freely to Master Thorndyke; he's an auldheid, if he does gang about on young shouthers."

Kilgore nodded, and Thorndyke's heart warmed toward the old man when he was at leisure to read the story of privation and distress written so plainly on the thin face and in the restless eyes. It was some sense of the need for encouragement that prompted him to speak first in terms of assurance.

"Duncan has told me all about your case, Mr. Kilgore, and I want you to believe me when I say that you're in no danger whatever of prosecution on the old charge of brandy-making. If you were arrested to-day I could clear you to-morrow. You should've run away in the beginning."

The old man resented the imputation upon his courage. "I reckon yo'-uns 'd run, too, 'th' the 'r riffs." "Perhaps I should, after it got that far along; but I should have gone quietly with the officers at first and fought it out in court."

Kilgore shook his head dubiously. "The law hain't fer a pore man like me."

"That's just where you're mistaken; the law is for everyone, and we couldn't do anything in the present case without it. But that's neither here nor there. What I want to impress on your mind is this: You are in no danger whatever from the United States authorities, but you are in danger from these fellows who have taken your land, and they will leave no stone unturned to make Alabama too hot to hold you."

"Ya reckon not?"

"I know it, and before I take hold of your case I want to know if you are willing to trust me fully in everything, doing exactly what I tell you, whether you understand the reason for it or not."

"I reckon I can't do no different, 'th' them fellers a-huntin' me all this time."

"Yes, you could; they'll give you plenty of chances to upset the whole thing before I'm through with them, and I want to be sure that you'll do nothing without first consulting me. Will you promise that?"

The old man held up a thin trembling hand. "You-uns is a lawyer; you-uns kin swar me, ef so be ya likes."

"That's all right; I only want to be certain that you understand that point. Now, about the damages. How much do you think you ought to have?"

Kilgore wrestled with the question and then looked up inquiringly. "I dono tol' Jim Cates, once, that he mought tek that thar patch o' layn' an' welcome fer \$2,000. I hain't a-keerin' so v'n' much now of them fellers' on'y quit pesterin' me, hnt ef so be ye mought git that much out'n him."

"That's about what I expected," interrupted Thorndyke, "and it's precisely what I wanted to guard against. Why, man, you could walk down to Allacoochee this minute and get twice that for a quit-claim for the mere asking! Set your figure at what you think you ought to have when I tell you that they're sellin' your land at five hundred dollars for a strip a foot wide and a hundred feet long."

The problem was too abstruse for the old mountaineer, and he shook his head helplessly.

"Very well, then; are you willing to leave the amount to me?"

"I reckon I can't do no better."

"Then we'll consider that settled. Now, one more question. Have you ever signed any papers for Cates or anyone else?"

"I reckon not."

Thorndyke was unfamiliar with the mountain idiom, and he pressed the question again. "I want you to think me to be sure."

Once more the tremulous hand went up. "How yo'-uns kin swar me."

Philip smiled and said: "That isn't necessary. I suppose you'd be sure to remember it if you had?"

"I reckon so, long's I can't write none."

"That's all, then; and for the present, I merely want you to keep out of their way. Have nothing to say to strangers and don't pay any attention to any messages from me or from anyone else unless Duncan or Elsie brings them to you. Does anybody besides the Duncan know about your place up here in the Pocket?"

"I reckon they's mighty few."

"So much the better. Go back there and stay quietly until you hear from me. It may take me a month, or even longer, to find out what I want to know in Allacoochee."

Kilgore understood that he was dismissed, but he hesitated, laboring with a statement that he did not know how to make. Thorndyke tried to help him.

"Was there anything else?" he asked.

"Seem' like thar ort to be; 'bout yo'-uns pay—I hain't got nothin' on the face o' the yeth—"

"Never mind about that; if we win there'll be money enough for both of us."

Kilgore went dumb again, trying to find words to measure his gratitude. Before they came there was a clattering of hoofs in the road, and then crunching footsteps on the gravelled yard leading up to the house. There was a dour window in Thorndyke's room, and his gaze projected above the front door of the farmhouse. The ash was up and the sounds from below came sharply to the two men in the upper room.

"I've got a warrant for John Kilgore," Philip recognized the voice as that of the man who had asked the way of Mrs. Duncan—"and I'll have to trouble ye, Mr. Duncan."

At the mention of his name the old mountaineer started and would have thrown himself out of the other window if Thorndyke had not promptly seized him. "Don't be afraid—they can't touch you. Sit down and listen."

"An' who's this John Keelgore that ye're spearin' in my house?" There's nobody w' that name hides here."

"I know all 'bout that, and I know, too, that this same John Kilgore's in this here house now. I don't want to make no trouble for ye, but I reckon ya know what all it means when the law says for ye to come down."

"Show yer warrant."

"That's for Kilgore."

"What's that? Ye'll no gang in this door till ya show me the hit paper."

"Mr. Duncan, I'm a deputy United States marshal; I reckon ye'd better stand to one side and lemme do my duty."

"Deputy or no deputy, ye'll no win intil this house forby the nakin' or a well-drawn search-warrant—there was the sound of an opening door—

"Elsie, hain't fess me the auld rife."

The pawing of the horses at the gate filled the silence until the door closed and Duncan spoke again: "Noo, then, ya lingers, I gie ye bath fair warnin'. I'm on my ain door-stane, an' ye'll show yer warrant or come on at yer ain peril."

Thorndyke peered between the slats of the closed shutters, and saw the two men fall back a few steps to hold a council of war. While they were talking, another horseman came in sight at the top of the hill, and a moment later Protheroe rode up to the gate and dismounted. He nodded to the intruders as he passed them, and Thorndyke was surprised to see them hurry to their horses and ride away toward Allacoochee. The hasty retreat was explained when Protheroe came up the walk.

"Good evening, Mr. Duncan. Are you out gunning for our friends?"

"Na, na, then," said Duncan, in tones of exasperation; "ye'd no be emplacatin' and Jamie Duncan for resiatin' the officers o' the law, would ye, Robbie?"

"What officers? Those fellows? They're no more officers than you are. What were they tryin' to do?"

Duncan took the engineer into the house, and his reply was lost to the listeners in the room above. Thorndyke turned to the old mountaineer. "You see, now, Mr. Kilgore, what these men will do. Your safety lies in keeping out of their reach. Come with me and I'll let you out the back way."

When Kilgore had gone, Thorndyke went down to the sitting-room, but neither there, nor afterwards at supper, did Duncan or Protheroe refer to the unwelcome visitors; and Thorndyke knew that the wary Scot had succeeded in satisfying Protheroe's curiosity without implicating Kilgore.

The young engineer brought letters for Philip, one of which was reserved to be read in the privacy of the little bedroom. It was from Helen, and Philip's conscience bit him when he tore it open. Then he smiled at his misgivings as he read through the closely-written pages.

"The Mortons were here to dinner last night," she wrote, "and they wanted to know all about you; where you were and what you were doing. You know best how you could tell them, but they thought it odd that you should prefer the wilds of Alabama in summer to Lenox or Newport. They have taken a cottage just below us for the season, and Derrick Morton has brought his yacht around from Mount Desert—I won't say Bar Harbor. That is gossip of the time and place, and I could fill pages with it, but I suppose you care for none of these things now. And really I don't know just what you do care for; you seem farther away in Alabama than you would if you were in Europe; but I fancy that because we are so utterly unfamiliar with your present surroundings."

"One thing I must tell you, however. A few of us here—Derrick Morton, the Van Ruyter girls, Arthur Huxley, and John Barker, and one more—have undertaken to redeem the frivolities of our corner of Newport by forming a reading circle. We read none but new authors, and then they thought it odd that you should prefer the wilds of Alabama in summer to Lenox or Newport. They have taken a cottage just below us for the season, and Derrick Morton has brought his yacht around from Mount Desert—I won't say Bar Harbor. That is gossip of the time and place, and I could fill pages with it, but I suppose you care for none of these things now. And really I don't know just what you do care for; you seem farther away in Alabama than you would if you were in Europe; but I fancy that because we are so utterly unfamiliar with your present surroundings."

"You would make a distressingly acute inquisitor, and the fact that you once tried your hand at authorship would lend a peculiar weight to your remarks. It is true that the best critics are often unsuccessful writers. Apropos, what ever became of your much-rejected manuscript? I should like to submit it as the effort of one of the summer."

"I suppose you have no present thought of coming back to civilization. From what you say in your letters I infer that you are enjoying yourself, after some primitive fashion, and, better than all else, that your health is improving. Because I can believe the latter, I can continue to spare you while the need exists; and since the separation has to be, it is better that we should bear it contentedly. I should be sorry to have the good effect of Dr. Perovin's prescription marred by any repining at mine, and so long as you feel that the out-of-door life is helping you, I hope you will not let it be a burden to you. I hope you will not let it be a burden to you. I hope you will not let it be a burden to you."

"I don't know, more than I know why I always took it for granted that we were divinely appointed to be the component parts of that mysterious creation which the marriage service declares to be one person, but which all experience says is still more than ever two. Could Elsie Duncan write such a letter as that to the man she loves? Bah! the comparison is absurd! And yet, on the other hand, it isn't fair to blame Helen because I don't happen to be the one man in the universe who is capable of calling out the best there is in her; and I don't blame her. She may find the right man yet; it's hardly possible this time in Morton's yacht will turn out to be more than a divine appointment than an agreement made by our fathers while we were in swaddling-clothes."

Thus Philip, in a plausible attempt to justify himself. How should he know that the cool and dispassionate letter was only a part and parcel of the hard task Helen had set herself in the beginning? How was he to guess that she had steadily resolved from the first to say nothing that would tempt him to turn back to his hurt? By what inner prescience should he have been enabled to read between the lines the passionate yearning that was so resolutely effaced in the written words?

(To be continued.)

Are Workingmen Getting Prosperity?

Arthur Brisbane Says That's The Question.

The address of David M. Parry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, in session at New Orleans, would necessarily lead any man of good sense and proper feeling to suppose that a body so important had been tricked into electing a fool as its chief officer. This natural presumption is a mistake, however. Mr. Parry in the arrogant ignorance he shows in dealing with the labor question and his brainless ferocity of temper appears to be thoroughly representative of an organization which is as far from representing the intelligence of the American business world as any riotous striker is from typifying the American workingman.

According to Mr. Parry, who seemingly has the full sympathy of the National Association of Manufacturers, trades unionism is the master peril now menacing not merely our industrial prosperity, but the life of the republic.

"It is impossible to hide our eyes to the fact," he says, "that a large mass of the people, forgetful of the liberties and blessings they now enjoy, are with restless ardor striving to force the nation to what must eventually mean industrial disaster if not anarchy and despotism."

Because workingmen want an eight hour law and an end put to the abuse of the writ of injunction Mr. Parry sees the dread specter of socialism "tearing upon us at a rapid rate."

The rule that organized workingmen seek to establish, President Parry asserts, "is the rule of the least intelligent portion of labor." Its leaders "are found to be agitators and demagogues, men who appeal to prejudice and envy, who are constantly instilling a hatred of wealth and utility and who in incendiary speeches attempt to seize by physical force that which their merit cannot obtain for them."

The resolutions adopted by the association setting forth its attitude toward organized labor were as a whole quiet in keeping with its president's address.

Suppose that any important organization of workingmen in this country should express itself against the organized manufacturers in the same spirit, what would be thought and said of them?

The narrow and bitter selfishness of the National Association of Manufacturers, their crass incapacity to see any other interest than their own, demonstrates the need of organization among workingmen for self protection against such employers.

The only kind of labor union which President Parry and his associates regard with favor is either one that can offer no advantages to its members or one whose declared object is to war upon organized labor. The "scab," the strike breaker, appeal to these employers as the ideal workingman. But much as the National Association of Manufacturers hates and assails the union principle among wage workers no part of the New Orleans convention's proceedings excited greater enthusiasm than the declaration that the association should go on strengthening itself for the benefit of its members.

Every man who can think, whether he can manufacture or not, is aware that upon the prosperity of the masses, of the people who do the country's work, depends the prosperity of the nation. The higher the standard of wages the greater the consuming power of

the latter. I can continue to spare you while the need exists; and since the separation has to be, it is better that we should bear it contentedly. I should be sorry to have the good effect of Dr. Perovin's prescription marred by any repining at mine, and so long as you feel that the out-of-door life is helping you, I hope you will not let it be a burden to you. I hope you will not let it be a burden to you. I hope you will not let it be a burden to you."

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Collectivism and the Single Tax.

Victor L. Berger says the Land Tax would not Abolish Cut-Throat Competition.

There has been a strong disposition among some Socialist critics to regard Henry George as nothing more than a charlatan, while others think that he was a social prodigy, the greatest of the theorists of the Single Tax. Both of these views are wholly wrong. Henry George in his "Progress and Poverty" has given us a most brilliant criticism of the present system—more brilliant in some respects than that of Karl Marx. And the idea of Single Tax has taken considerable root in some Australian colonies, especially in New Zealand.

Marxism naturally must oppose the Single Tax theory because the latter is a reform of the present system according to a specific plan invented by a certain man, while Socialists know that human social life is an organism; it is a matter of growth and of evolution. The Socialists simply point to history—to the economic development, the centralization of property, the trusts, etc.—and then simply state the fact that we are growing into Socialism, that Socialism is going to be the next phase of our civilization.

But before all things Socialists contend that Single Tax would not change anything in favor of the propertyless masses—that as a matter of fact it would infinitely sharpen competition and sharpen it in favor of the man with ready money. From this point of view Single Tax has been declared by Socialist authors "an attempt to exploit Socialist ideas in favor of the mobile capital."

Let us have a short and concise statement of the two schools in thought. Socialism is the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution with the help of machinery. Formerly hand labor and social or associated labor are the means of producing those necessities. The present system of less class and the capitalist class: A class of toilers who produce all wealth and hold the structure of our social institutions is always determined by the way we get our living. And whilst in that former time it was the imperative duty of the government to protect the individual in the possession of the property he had produced, so, today, it is equally the duty of the government to protect associated labor, that is to say, the whole body of working people, in the possession of the products of their toil. We furthermore point to the economic evolution, trusts, combines, etc.—and say: If so much of what has been considered private property is to be held in common, why not the whole of it? There is nothing that can stop it—then, if we are to remain a political free people, the inevitable outcome will be that the people must take possession collectively of the production and distribution. And this is called Socialism.

Now what is single tax?

Henry George explains it as follows: "We propose to abolish all taxes save one single tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of the value of improvements in or on it."

"What we propose is not a tax on real estate, for real estate includes improvements. Nor is it a tax on land, for we would not tax that land, but only land that is not improved, and the value of its improvements, and would tax that in proportion to that value."

"When we tax houses, shops, money, furniture, capital or wealth in any of its forms, we take from individuals what rightfully belongs to them. We violate the right of property, and in the name of the state commit robbery. But when we tax ground values we take from individuals what does not belong to them, but belongs to the community, which cannot be left to individuals, without the robbery of other individuals."

New there is no doubt that Socialists and Single Taxers agree on some points, only according to the teachings of history and political economy the Single Taxers put the cart before the horse.

We want to abolish the wage system. In order to do that, it is necessary to abolish private property in capital. According to our ideas land is an important factor in the production of wealth, and it is not simply we who maintain this, but some capitalists also fear that George's land theories may hurt the present system and that is the reason they denounce him as a Socialist. George, and even more so his German disciple, Fieschheim, would like to make a compromise. Socialists and Single Taxers both agree that the present system is a failure. They would begin with the socialization of that part of the wealth which is least ripe for it, because it is the least concentrated of any, where there are still over seven million owners of farms in the United States. This alone stamps "single tax" as impossible. The collective ownership of land means the end of the wage system.

Collectivism is now possible and necessary in very many branches, especially in those that have reached the form of a monopoly or trust—Henry George rightly indicates—and have thereby proved that they have outgrown the competitive system.

Furthermore collectivism is now possible and necessary in mining of every description and in the ownership and management of all the means of transportation and in the ownership of the land.

But in our country Socialism in land is not possible now and will not be for a long time to come.

For reasons not necessary to explain here, the effect of new inventions in agriculture, the tendency of the farmer to enlarge the middle-sized farm. Many scientists, and especially agronomists (specialists in agriculture) claim that the future in agriculture belongs to intensive farming, not to farming on a large scale. At any rate, the farmers will for very many reasons be the last class to be expropriated by society. One very good reason is that class is so numerous that it would be simply impossible to do so. The other reason is that it is the aim of Socialism to give the workers the right of possession of the things they have to use, and in the case of the farmers an expropriation would mean that we should take the land from the present owners and forthwith give it back to them.

The farmers as a class naturally object to the Single Tax as much and more than they do to Socialism, before they understand it. The only difference is that they do not think that a single tax is a great deal better than the present system, but they surely would be no cause for the proletariat to fight the farmers for the single tax. Land is still to be had very cheaply in many places—in the northern part of the state of Wisconsin at from three to five dollars an acre—in the Southern states it is still cheaper. In 1898 for instance in Ashland county, Wis., an acre of land cost \$1.50. In 1900 it cost \$2.50. In 1901 it cost \$3.50. In 1902 it cost \$4.50. In 1903 it cost \$5.50. In 1904 it cost \$6.50. In 1905 it cost \$7.50. In 1906 it cost \$8.50. In 1907 it cost \$9.50. In 1908 it cost \$10.50. In 1909 it cost \$11.50. In 1910 it cost \$12.50. In 1911 it cost \$13.50. In 1912 it cost \$14.50. In 1913 it cost \$15.50. In 1914 it cost \$16.50. In 1915 it cost \$17.50. In 1916 it cost \$18.50. In 1917 it cost \$19.50. In 1918 it cost \$20.50. In 1919 it cost \$21.50. In 1920 it cost \$22.50. In 1921 it cost \$23.50. In 1922 it cost \$24.50. In 1923 it cost \$25.50. In 1924 it

SOCIALISM SHOULD ATTRACT SINGLE TAXERS—WHERE HENRY GEORGE STOOD.

I first met the Socialists and the single-taxers I was surprised to find that they were not friendly and that they actually opposed each other. To me it seemed that Socialism was not at all inconsistent with the teachings of Henry George. But I was told by both Socialists and single-taxers that this was due to the fact that I did not understand the subject. Between Socialism and the single tax there is a great difference.

I finally gave up the idea of any possible harmony between these two lines of thought and accepted the battle, never quite convinced, however, that contention was either necessary or right.

And now, after a more thorough reading of the philosophy of Henry George, it seems more than ever that after all the two ideas may not be inconsistent with each other.

And more than ever it seems to me the antagonism and hostility of Socialists and single-taxers is due to a pride of intellect and to an economic dogmatism which is more than to an irreconcilable difference of principles.

This article is written for the purpose of showing the points of agreement and disagreement and to emphasize especially the fact that the single-taxer agrees entirely with the one, all important contention of the single tax and that the only matters that keep the single-taxer from becoming a Socialist are matters of relatively unimportant details.

I. Socialism and the single tax both stand for the common control of the land. To the single-taxer this is of transcendent importance. But it is no less so to the Socialist and every Socialist platform and every Socialist writer urges this demand with unceasing energy. Upon this point we are in absolute agreement.

It is the Socialist who will urge that the common ownership of land is not enough, but let us for once give full weight to the fact that both want it. We must make land common property." (Progress and Poverty, book 6, ch. 2, p. 345.) "There is no escape from it. If we would save the republic we must make land common property." (Social Problems, p. 276. See also p. 278-9.)

Indeed nearly everything Henry George did and everything he wrote was for the purpose of establishing this demand. The Socialists do the same. II. Socialists and single-taxers both agree that the common ownership of land is not enough. It is only the narrowness of intensity that prevents agreement from seeing this.

Sometimes, perhaps, a single-taxer will insist that all he wants is the single tax and that gives the Socialist ground for attack. But both should get the viewpoint of the greater minds in their movement.

Henry George not only recognized that the common ownership of land was not enough, but distinctly stated the fact. "Let me not be misunderstood," he says. "I do not say in the recognition of the equal right of each human being to the natural elements lies the solution of all social problems. I fully recognize the fact that after we do this, much will remain to do. WE MIGHT MIGHTY THE EQUAL RIGHT TO LAND AND YET TYRANNY AND OPPRESSION BE CONTINUED." (Social Problems, p. 273.)

This is exactly the contention of the Socialist. George concedes the necessity of other reforms besides that of common ownership of land but urges that this is established no other reform will avail. The point to emphasize is that George himself insisted that the single tax would not suffice. (See also Social Problems, p. 193.)

Indeed the single tax platform concedes this and declares for the common ownership of public utilities. It reads as follows: "It is also a proper function of society to maintain and control all public ways for transportation, transmission of intelligence, and all ways in cities for furnishing water, gas and all other things that necessarily require the use of such common ways." (See Single Tax Platform quoted in "Shortest Road to the Single Tax," p. 244.)

Some single-taxers, it is true, interpret this to mean public ownership, but not the public operation of these utilities.

Henry George, however, thought differently, and here again agree with the Socialists. He says: "We never can enjoy the full benefits of the railroad until we make it public property, MANAGED BY PUBLIC SERVANTS in the public interest." (Social Problems, p. 257.) And again: "The same reasons that render it necessary for the state to make and maintain common roads apply with even greater force to the building AND OPERATING of railroads." (Idem, p. 245.)

Going the Way of the Roman Empire.

Speaking in Carnegie hall, New York, recently, at the annual benefit of the St. Andrew coffee stands, on the subject of centralization of capital and the inequality of conditions among men in relation to wealth, Dr. Madison C. Peck said:

Until God makes all people's brains alike so long will there be rich and poor in human society. The leveling process would take away the stimulus to individual accumulation, and therefore the capital of a community could not grow, but would be diminished and every man's share lessened; but, in spite of these facts, individuals among us are becoming too rich and others getting too poor.

Concentration of wealth exists today in forms which are perilous to American institutions. De Tocqueville warned us more than a century ago that the greatest peril in America would arise from plutocracy.

It is true that nearly one-half of the families of the United States own the real estate they occupy, but it is also true that seven-eighths of the families own but one-eighth of the wealth of the nation. Twenty-five thousand men own one-half of the wealth of this country, and 200,000 own quite 80 per cent of our total capital.

One-half of the wealth produced in this country annually goes as a tribute to 250,000 persons, and thus about one-half of our population of 77,000,000 are working all the time for 25,000 of their fellow men.

One hundred and twenty-five families in the United States have more money than all the other 77,000,000 people put together.

Just prior to the fall of the Roman empire the entire wealth was in the hands of 1,000 men. How long will it be if our present ratio be maintained for a few hundred men will own all the wealth of the country?

Twenty men in this country have it in their power, by reason of the wealth they control, to arrive at an understanding and any day they should so choose could stop every wheel of commerce from revolving, block every avenue of trade and strike dumb every electric key.

No sensible man ought to object to an industrial system which allows a man by his genius and industry to make all the money he can. But we do protest against accumulation by legalized methods of robbery by which a few steal what the billions earn.

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Social Democratic Herald,

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"Nothing is more obvious," he says, "than that a union of railroading with the other functions of government is inevitable." (P. 247.) And, "even if it were possible, WHICH MAY WELL BE DOUBTED, to have railways maintained by the state, leaving the furnishing of trains to private enterprise, it would be still a most serious matter." "All I have said of railroads applies of course to the telegraph, telephone, gas, water, heat, electricity—in short, all businesses which are in their nature monopolies."

A careful consideration of these quotations reveals a remarkable extent of common ground between the Socialist and the single tax philosophy.

It should be recognized by both and taken advantage of.

III. Henry George saw the evolution of society towards Socialism and predicted its coming.

His followers now should realize that since George's time this evolution has been very rapid and they ought to see the logic of events which he did not have to guide him.

Years ago George wrote these words: "THE NATURAL DEVELOPMENT IS UNMISTAKABLY TOWARDS CO-OPERATION—OR IF THE WORD BE PREFERRED, TOWARDS SOCIALISM, though I dislike to use a word to which such various and vague meanings are attached." (Social Problems, p. 261.) And in Progress and Poverty (book VIII, ch. IV, pp. 453-454) he describes the ideal he hoped his system would reach in terms that are more Socialistic even than those of Socialists, reminding one of the utopian passages of Bellamy. He concludes with this statement: "We should reach, the ideal of the Socialist, but not through government repression."

IV. POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT. So far attention has been called to the points of agreement between the Socialist and single tax philosophy. And I submit that these are the more vital points and that upon these there is essential agreement.

There are also points of disagreement. A brief discussion of these will show: (1) That they are not the most essential points in the philosophy of either party; (2) that they are due to a mutual misunderstanding or a lack of complete knowledge and, I believe, (3) that these differences are not irreconcilable.

(1) George very evidently did not fully understand and appreciate the Socialist philosophy. When, for example, he refers to Socialism as a repressive power and dismisses it as tyrannical and leading back to barbarism, he is evidently unaware of the fact that exactly what he sets forth as an ideal form of government is also exactly the ideal of the Socialists. When he says "Government would change its character and would become the administration of a great co-operative society. It would become merely the agency by which the common property was administered for the common benefit." (Progress and Poverty, p. 454) he was perhaps unaware that he was using almost exactly the words of the Socialists, writers upon that point. That is exactly the ideal of Socialism. Indeed the Socialist writers have developed the idea of a democratic state much more thoroughly than Spencer or Jefferson or even George did. (See Vandervelde's "Collectivism," chap. III, on "The Administration of Things." Also Deville on "The State," and "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," by Engels, pp. 16, 75-77.)

Or, again, when George speaks of TRADES UNIONISM and PROTECTIONISM as phases of Socialism he betrays an astonishing lack of understanding of Socialism. (Open Letter to Pope, p. 64 ff.) If these are the conceptions that George and his followers have of what Socialism is, we can understand their hostility to it. It is because neither understand what it is. If they will take the pains to get a correct and complete idea about it their reason for hostility will disappear.

Gleanings from Busy Socialistic Fields!

NOTES FROM YANKEE LAND.

Philadelphia has a woman's branch.

Cincinnati Socialists are organizing the suburbs.

The Examiner is a new one from Hill City, Kansas.

The Ohio state convention meets tomorrow at Columbus.

Comrade James Allman, formerly of New York city, is now located in Chicago.

Another Michigan preacher has made the jump—the Rev. A. M. Stinson of Inlay city.

The national organizing fund has reached \$227.56. Contributions can be sent care of this office.

Baltimore Socialists cast 682 votes for mayor. This is more than Maryland's entire vote last Fall.

De Leon has lost another lieutenant in the person of Comrade T. C. Brophy.

The Oklahoma Socialist of Selkirk, Okla., is now known as the Oklahoma Daily Socialist. Our congratulations.

Father Hagerty speaks in Ohio and New Jersey during June. He spoke in New Orleans last week for three consecutive nights.

National Secy. Mailly was married recently in Massachusetts to a Chicago girl, the Rev. F. O. MacCartney officiating.

Father McGrady will make a Western tour during July and August, speaking in Montana, Washington, Oregon and California.

The Minneapolis comrades will start their agitation van out again next week in charge of Comrades Guy E. Ederton and George J. Martin of Kansas City.

Prof. Thos. E. Will, formerly president of the Kansas Agricultural College, and later dean of Rustin college at Trenton, Mo., has started the American Socialist college at Wichita, Kans.

Aspen, Colo., Socialists have purchased a business block for headquarters, with the first floor for a hall and a reading room and labor hall on the second floor.

If any of your neighbors are non-Socialists because they haven't been given a chance to learn about it, isn't the fault of it on your head? Order a bundle!

Comrade George E. Bigelow's Michigan dates are as follows: Freeport, June 1; Hastings, 2; Nashville, 3; Charlotte, 4; Jackson, 5, 6, 7; Hillsdale, 8 and 10; Jonesville, 9; Indiana points, 11, 12, 13; Sturgis, 14.

The Chicago Socialist complains that the local campaign speakers do not mention the fact that the party has judicial candidates in the field there, and fears the working people will not discover the fact unassisted. Chicago campaigning is a wonderful thing.

Out in Jerome, Arizona, which is one of Coppering Clark's towns, Father Hagerty was fought in all

possible ways. He held his meeting all right, but the men who sat on the platform were discharged next day.

We have had a busy office force at work this past week. Besides the usual work the bundle calls were if an unusual amount of agitation was going on. The Milwaukee Federated Trades council sent in 100 subscriptions by which its proceedings will go to each union in the city. The Pattern-makers sent in 54 subscriptions, and the Eighth Ward branch 1,000 four-weeks subscriptions. This is the kind of work that counts for Socialism!

Thompson's Minnesota Tour.

I am just entering upon the last stretch of the Minnesota meetings. My dates are—St. Cloud, 10, 20 and 23; Willmar, 21—22; Alexandria, 24—25; Garfield, 26—27; Fergus Falls, 28—30; Fargo, 31 and June 1 (2) (undecided); Henderson, 2—3; Halstead, 4; Shelly, 5; Crookston, 6, 7 and 9; Thief River Falls, 8; Angus, 10 and 13; Comstock, 11; Warren, 12; McIntosh, 15. Other dates will be fixed later to occupy me until about June 25. Will then probably make a few points if called for in the Dakotas and make my way home to Lincoln. From there I will help a few days in Nebraska. Then rest a while.

Carl D. Thompson.

St. Cloud, Minn., May 19.

Picnic Ticket Receipts.

Comrades are requested to make remittances for Picnic tickets early so as to avoid rush and confusion toward the latter end.

H. A. Bushnell, city.....\$.50
A. H. Hunter, city.....1.00
F. H. Parker, city.....1.00
Andrew Meyer, Wausau.....1.00
Henry Stok, Manitowish.....1.00
Fred. Burger, city.....1.00
Theo. Matheasen, city.....1.00
Dr. H. Beckers, city.....1.00
H. J. Reich, Chilton.....1.00
Mrs. George Weidner, city.....2.00
Sam. Ritchie, Racine.....1.00
Wm. McFarlane, city.....1.00
H. J. Schwabke, city.....1.00
H. E. Conrad, city.....1.00
J. Doerfler, Jr., city.....1.00
Chas. A. Schussler, city.....1.00
H. M. Stillman, city.....1.00
P. Devine, city.....1.00
P. Norstrom, Ashland.....1.00
E. H. Stuart, Brodhead.....1.00
John Pennell, Racine.....1.00
R. McBeck, Whitewater, donation.....1.00
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T. W. Shutz, Corlies.....1.00
Per Erickson city.....1.00
Mrs. George Weidner, city.....3.00
Frank Weber, city.....1.00
H. Schloerke, city.....1.00
Wm. Tews, city.....1.00
P. Bonaess, city.....1.00
P. Heinath, Brownstown......20
Jos. Graus, Sheloysan......10
Wm. Roeker, Chilton.....1.00
A. L. Roeker, Chilton.....1.00

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ACROSS THE HERRING POND.

Comrade John Penny, after long service as secretary of the Independent Labor party of Great Britain, has resigned to accept a responsible position on the London press.

Japan Socialists are having trouble with the police, who stop their street meetings. Complaint is also made that the government is employing women and children in its factories and printing establishments in order to lower the wages of the men.

The Socialist candidates won out the other day at Bitterfield, Germany, and the robber class, from the Kaiser down, are ruefully scratching their heads and wondering how it happened. For just before election the old parties got through a scheme by which only 17 per cent of the people were permitted to vote. Much good it did them!

What a difference the point of view makes! An English capitalist paper referred to the recent congress of the Independent Labor party at York as "a motley crowd," while a Socialist paper says York was never invaded by "a more orderly, good-humored or intelligent galaxy of men and women." And the latter says further: "No organization in the country could have provided the people of York with a more brilliant series of public addresses."

A despatch from Berlin says the politicians of Germany are in turmoil, because of the expected success of the Socialists in the coming elections. August Bebel, the principal Socialist leader, thinks their number of members of the Reichstag will increase from 58 to 80 and the number of votes polled from 2,000,000 to more than 3,000,000. Paul Singer, another leader, is not so sanguine, putting the number of Reichstag members at 75. Eduard Bernstein, the Socialist scientific writer, inclines to Bebel's estimate, but the Socialist organ, the Vorwarts, and the great bulk of the rank and file of the party feel confident the number will be 100, or slightly more than one-fourth of the whole Reichstag membership. The other parties are alarmed and working with every weapon in their armory, including the poisoned sort, to check the Socialists in their onward march.

In his address to the York conference, Comrade J. Bruce Glazier, retiring president of the I. L. P., gave some figures concerning the work of that organization for the ten years of its existence. In that time 2,000 local elections had been contested, with success in 500 cases, including re-elections. Fifty parliamentary seats had been contested with success in two of the contests. In ten years the party had raised and spent \$75,000 on parliamentary elections and \$150,000 on local elections. This with the work back of it, that could not be resolved into money terms, represented a propaganda work that "had had a profound influence upon public opinion," he said. "We have kept the light of a great ideal before the working class mind; and we have done an inestimable service for the community in urging forward and guarding the new birth of municipal enterprise, which is the most wholesome and most promising development of the present day civilization."

Milwaukee Picnic Notices.

Comrade Mrs. George Weidner is a hustler. She got 10 tickets by mail, paid them and sent for more. Next day these were paid and again 10 were ordered. Before she got a chance to pay the last lot 30 more were ordered by telephone, the next day 10 more.

But she is not the "only pebble on the beach." Comrade Robt. Buech asked for 170 tickets and reports 75 already sold.

Comrade Nich. Draut also asked for 50 additional tickets.

Why shouldn't you get a move on? See list of prizes elsewhere.

Father Hagerty—Has written a little book on Economic Discontent in his usual vigorous style, and we have secured some of them. They sell at 10 cents in single copies.

(5) The disagreement on the question of competition seems at first more formidable. George and his followers believe in competition and the Socialists do not. But when one discovers that the kind of competition in which the single-taxer believes is a kind that has never existed so far and is therefore an ideal competition yet to be realized (Open Letter, p. 67); and when, on the other hand, one reads in a Socialist writer like Enrico Ferri that under Socialism the "struggle for life" will not be abolished, but its form and conditions will be changed and it will still proceed upon a higher plane, viz., the intellectual, moral and ethical and under conditions of equality of opportunity ("Socialism and Modern Science," chapter on "The Struggle for Life and Its Victims," p. 35), the seriousness of the difficulty disappears.

(3) On the question of interest the Socialists are squarely at issue with George, who holds that it is right. In this respect the Socialist must regard the work of George as incomplete. But it is very interesting to find, as the writer has frequently, that many enthusiastic followers of George agree with the Socialists upon this point rather than with George. So that even here we may be nearer together than we think.

(4) Upon the question of the class struggle George and his followers seem to be entirely unenlightened, or perhaps unconscious. A study of this great fact, this unfolding social drama, as Ferri calls it, would perhaps complete the circle of harmony and bring us all together.

V. And, finally, recent events, it seems to the writer, ought now to fully convince the single-taxer that the only hope of realizing his ideal is through the Socialist party of America. This is the situation—the one great all absorbing, all important measure to the single-taxer—the reform that transcends all others, and by the side of which all others are as nothing, is the first and foremost plank of the Socialist party. Upon other points the disagreement is either only partial or due to lack of understanding.

The Socialist party is a world party with organization in every civilized nation. It cast 300,000 votes in the last election and has now marshaled the forces that make its triumph a possibility within the next few years.

Meanwhile the Democratic party, which the single-taxers have supported because they hoped to secure their measures through it, has been overwhelmingly defeated; and what is still worse, has nowhere given the slightest indication of offering the single taxers anything. Its radical candidates are often defeated by the bolting vote of its own membership, and in Colorado the Bucklin bill was openly opposed in platform, press and public speech by many of the Democratic party.

Thus the party is hopelessly divided and unquestionably in the power of reactionary plutocratic interests. There can be no possible hope for the true single-taxer in that direction.

What then can be clearer than the duty of those who love the memory and the noble ideals of Henry George?

You want the resources of nature rescued from the grip of private monopolists; you want the common ownership of all natural monopolies; you want democracy; you want a co-operative commonwealth. So do we. Will you not join the Socialist party in its world struggle and help us win the ideals you cherish?

Or will you still cling to an effete political party and permit an intellectual pride to chain you to the interests of a rotten plutocracy in the very presence of the master opportunity for a cosmic struggle for justice and human liberty? We Socialists want justice. Are you with us or against us?

(Republished by Request.)

Carl D. Thompson.

but we will send three for 25 cents. Come to think of it, you might need eight of it just now, because of the activity of some of our friends, and so will send eight of them postpaid for 50 cents, if you hurry.

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SECOND PRIZE.
A 20 YEAR GOLD FILLED WATCH, Waltham Movement, donated by A. H. Stecher, Jeweler, Third and State Streets.

THIRD PRIZE.
\$10.00 WORTH OF DENTISTRY WORK, donated by Dr. Young, 413-416 Germania Building. Winner can sell certificate if he so chooses.

FOURTH PRIZE.
A \$5.00 SILK UMBRELLA, donated by L. Sachs, the Jeweler, 418 National Avenue.

These prizes will be exhibited in prominent places as soon as arrangements can be made. Announcement of this will be made later.

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It has hundreds of excellent recipes for the cure of the various diseases. It has 16 Colored Plates, showing different parts of the human body. The chapter on Painless Midwifery is worth its weight in gold to women. It has a large number of valuable illustrations. The "care of children" is something every mother ought to read. It teaches the value of Air, Sunshine and Water as medicines. It contains valuable information for the married. It advises people with regard to marriage—tells who should and who should not marry. Those contemplating marriage should get this book at once. This book cannot fail to please you. If you are looking for health by the safest and easiest means, do not delay getting it.

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What International Socialism Demands:
1. Collective ownership of public utilities and all industries in the hands of the workers.
2. Democratic management of such collective industry.
3. Reduction of the hours of labor and progressively increased remuneration.
4. State and National Insurance for the workers and honorable rest for old age.
5. The inauguration of public industries to safeguard the workers against lack of employment.
6. Education of all children up to the age of 18 years. No child labor.
7. Equal political and civil rights for men and women.
If you believe in the above vote with the Social Democrats.

Henry George and Socialism.
Comrade E. D. Northrup of Buffalo, gave the following interesting information:
"In 1884 Henry George, in a visit hours long, confessed to me that he was a Socialist, and explained to me tersely his Socialism, to-wit: 'Whenever any enterprise gets too big for one man to conduct it, it should be socialized' and he added: 'It should come about in that way, beginning with the greatest, now the momentous land question; then the transportation question, and so on.'
Henry George's statement that he was a Socialist, of course, is interesting, but how about the other one, that the land should be socialized first? Is the land, in this country especially, so concentrated in ownership as to be ready (possible) for socialization? Statistics do not show it.
Socialism will doubtless come along the lines of least resistance. That is, those things will be first taken over in which the number dispossessed from ownership will be comparatively small. The coal mines are ready for it, so are the railroads, and the trustified industries certainly are. It would be easy to take over the shoe-making industry as it is today, but it would have been much more difficult, if not impossible, years ago when it was not concentrated into factories, but represented innumerable little cobbler shops scattered all over the country.
Were the land in this country owned by only a few rich cormorants, as in England, for instance, the people collectively might take possession—though not for the 'Socialist' purpose of again letting it out under a Single Tax that rich people would be best able to pay? Statistics show that concentration in land is not going on, but that the tendency is rather the other way.
Henry George's heart was in the right place, but he did not seem to realize that the capitalistic ownership of the tools and forces of production was the thing that brought misery on the people, rather than the private ownership of the land, which even today in some places is a drug in the market.
We are going to give our readers some information shortly about the stockholders in the Herald company that will surprise them. It will show them that the paper is really owned by the comrades—that is, those who always put their shoulders to the wheel in various parts of the country. It has been our ambition to have the ownership as diverse as possible so as to be representative, and in this we have been successful. The number of shares held by labor unions is especially gratifying, for it shows that when once they are convinced that a fight is a righteous one and that it is being engaged in by men who do not only have personal ends to serve, but who are active because of the opportunity to sacrifice, that they are at once enlisted in the work. It brings into the management of the paper a class of men who know and feel the curse of capitalism and have the courage to fight against it. The Herald is not published to make money, indeed, no paper of its size published at such a low subscription price, can make money and pay the highest union wages for its mechanical work, let alone paying the paper trust four prices for paper. And even the fact that a good deal of the head work on the paper is volunteered, will not put it in the paying column until its circulation can be greatly increased over its present flourishing state. When the day comes that the paper pays dividends the cause will have only reason to rejoice, for the money will go to men who are so thoroughly heart and soul in the cause that they are sure to expend it again for the good of the cause. A share of stock costs \$5.00.

The Herald Forum.
The Jew in the Competitive System.
Milwaukee, May 18.—Editor Social Democratic Herald: In a competitive system it is natural that the contending elements of commerce are antagonistic to each other. The shrewdest [and the luckiest] men in the business world usually succeed and this gives rise to envy and hatred on the part of those less fortunate.
If there is any nationality that nature has adapted to a competitive system, it is the Jew. [But the existence of ghettos shows that in spite of adaptability the Jew is also a victim of the competitive struggle. Ed: Herald.] For centuries Christian prejudice has persecuted him and they have been treated as outcasts wherever they have attempted to gain a foothold. Is spite of the radical prejudice, their keen insight into human nature has given to them a prominent place in the world's commerce. This has not diminished the outrages that have been committed against this race. In spite of every effort to crush them, they are becoming more prosperous. Their innate dignity and independence is to be envied by the great multitude who plod and toil and struggle for wages that do little more than keep them from starvation and exposure to the destructive elements of nature. The typical Jew is not seen driving a coach for some bloated parasite, he does not wear a white uniform and push the road scraper, he does not dig sewers, he is not attracted by the stench of tanneries or by the dust of factories; his occupation is an individual one. He does not want to be owned, he does not sell himself for a dollar or two a day, and he does not care to improve the mercy of a boss. This makes most people hate the Jew. Most people are slaves, and they think any person that does not live as they do is wrong and that they have a grievance against him. Recent outrages in Russia have been so horrible that the whole Christian world has been shocked by what Christian people have done to heathen Jews. The dispatches say that hundreds have been killed before the eyes of the Russian soldiery, scores of innocent women and young girls have been brutally outraged

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What a Wonderful Arrangement for the Human Family!

HALF HOURS IN THE HERALD SANCTUM.
The words to a "strict" Republican glass blower in our issue of May 10, rather deluged us with letters, all appreciative. We can only spare space for two of them. One correspondent doubted that the glass blower's trade was wearing their lives away, but medical authorities agree that the extremes of heat and cold draughts induce bronchial and lung troubles, while the strain upon the air cells in the lungs and the momentary stoppage of the circulation of the blood during the blowing has its effect on health and longevity, more so than even the glass blowers themselves realize.
Editor Herald: The glass man from Howell Ave. of "strict" Republican fame "got his" alright alright last week. It was beautiful reading and I saw it that over 20 fellows read the 6 papers that Comrade Davis, 707 Astor St., received. And they passed it along by word of mouth. My propaganda work for this day was chiefly the distribution of nearly 100 Army leaflets. I had pleasure to spare watching the fellows, clerk, foreman, and different office help, reading unconsciously stuff that will start the training of their minds Socialismward.
Milwaukee, May 9. W. H. Leadley.
Johnny Eisenhardt, per Herald: Johnny, I observe you feel annoyed at obtaining gratis Herald Medicine, which operates keenly on poor Johnny's weak veins. Johnny what have you been doing lately that you cannot stand a sure remedy to thoroughly recuperate your declining strength? My good fellow, do you really understand the truthful meaning of that abstruse sentence, "BEING A STRICT REPUBLICAN"? How old are you, Johnny? Old enough to know better. Indeed, you are Johnny. Well, Johnny, if you have read a brief history of the present condition of the glass industry in last week's issue of the H., you must blush on both sides of your cheeks and feel disgusted with yourself for showing so many intelligent people what a dandy you are, and how ignorant you still remain as a poor glass-blower. But show away, Johnny, and let us hear how the Herald's medicine is operating on Johnny's weak, neglected cranium? We want to disseminate the Herald medicine and I as a reader return thanks for your brief epistle fanning inhuman cormorants, who pocket millions by working poor half starved children.
Milwaukee, May 19. Carrie Quirk.
Social Democratic Herald: Within two or three issues of the Herald, I will return herewith, the rest as soon as I find the subscribers. Your paper is greatly appreciated by myself and others, but we have to stay within certain lines, so as to not crowd out equally valuable literature. I will try however to do justice to all, and encourage every means to reach the common end, the co-operative commonwealth.
Rev. F. W. Becker, Sheboygan, Wis., May 8.
Dear Herald: I wanted to write you a word of commendation on the last two or three issues of the Herald. Your remarks on the Chicago method of propaganda and on the matter of the resolution calling on the comrades to help weed out lectures who work under capitalist lecture bureaus, struck me as especially apt. As I have said so often before, I like your work in the Herald very much and wish you every possible success.
Carl D. Thompson, St. Cloud, Minn., May 19.

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What We Social Democrats Are After.
(Adopted by the Socialist Party at National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., July 31, 1901.)
The Socialist party, at national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.
Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.
Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience, and virtual slavery.
The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.
But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.
The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.
While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depends upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.
As such means we advocate:
1. The collective ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumer.
2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.
3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be furnished by the government and to be administered under the control of the working class.
4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.
5. The education of all children up to the age of 18 years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and other necessities for men and women.
6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.
7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.
But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and also for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.
Attitude toward Trade Unions.
The following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the national committee of the Socialist party at the annual meeting held in St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 29 to Feb. 1, 1902:
The national committee of the Socialist party in annual session assembled, hereby reaffirms the attitude of the party toward the trade union movement as expressed in the resolution on the subject adopted by the Indianapolis convention of 1901.
We consider the trade union movement and the Socialist movement as inseparable parts of the general labor movement, produced by the same economic forces and tending towards the same goal, and we deem it the duty of each of the two movements to extend its hearty co-operation and support to the other in its special sphere of activity.
But we are also mindful of the fact that each of the two movements has its own special mission to perform in the struggle for the emancipation of labor, that it devolves upon the trade unions to conduct the economic struggles of the working class, that it devolves on the Socialist party to fight the political battles of the working class, and that the interests of labor as a whole will be best conserved by allowing each of the movements to manage the affairs within its own sphere of activity without active interference by the other.
We also declare that we deem it unwise to invite trade unions as such to be represented in the political conventions of our party.
The Socialist party will continue to give its aid and assistance to the economic struggles of organized labor regardless of the affiliation of the trade unions engaged in the struggle, and will take no sides in any dissensions or strifes within the trade union movement. The party will also continue to solicit the sympathy and support of all trade organizations of labor without allowing itself to be made the ally of any one division of the trade union movement as against another.
Anti-Fusion Resolutions.
Whereas, the history of the labor movement of the world has conclusively demonstrated that a Socialist party is the only political organization able to adequately and consistently conduct the political struggles of the working class, and whereas, all "radical and reform" parties, including the so-called "Union Labor parties," have, after a brief existence, uniformly succumbed to the influence of the old political parties and have proven disastrous to the ultimate end of the labor movement, and
Whereas, any alliance, direct or indirect, with such parties is dangerous to the political integrity and the very existence of the Socialist party and the Socialist movement, and
Whereas, at the present stage of development of the Socialist movement of this country there is neither necessity nor expediency for such alliance, therefore be it Resolved, That no state or local organization or member of the party shall, under any circumstances, use, combine or compromise, with any political party or organization, or refrain from making nominations in order to further the interests of candidates of such parties or organization.

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FARMERS BELIEVE IN UNIONISM.

Socialistic Sentiment in Town and on Farms discovered by Organizer Gaylord.

Organizer Winfield R. Gaylord of the Wisconsin Social Democratic party made a wagon trip through Waukesha county this past week and found, as is the experience everywhere, that the farmers as well as the townsmen are becoming unmistakably interested in Socialism. Comrade Gaylord describes his trip as follows:
"Starting from Waukesha one rainy morning, a drive of a few miles north brought the agitator's buggy to Duplinville. Inquiries on my way had resulted in the locating of one farmer who was well-known as a Socialist, and several others who were very glad to get copies of the papers and leaflets, and who were quite intelligent as to the issue involved in the Socialistic campaign. At Duplinville we found one of the resident comrades, who seemed somewhat discouraged over the "dummeit" of the farmers, and said they are too "prosperous." We cheered him up, and started for Lannon, where the several comrades working at the quarries were unfortunately not at home. They seemed to have made their impression upon the country, for we heard of them as far away as Hartland, next day.
At Menomonee Falls we found two Socialists, who were fearful in spirit

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What the Socialists stand for in Wisconsin.

The Social Democratic party is the American expression of the international movement of modern wage workers for better food, better houses, sufficient sleep, more leisure, more education and more culture. Those who work with hands and brain are the producers of all wealth, but as laws are now made in the interests of property and the men who own property, the rights of the workers are ignored, although they are the great majority.
Electricity, steam and many modern inventions have struck the death blow at production on a small scale. Production on the large scale makes monopoly a necessary condition. Monopoly is here, whether we wish it or not.
The question is only whether it shall be a public or private monopoly.
The Social Democratic party demands that the production of this country shall be taken out of the control of a small number of irresponsible men whose only aim is to exploit us to the last limit of our endurance.
The Republican and the Democratic parties, and all sorts of reformers and anti-monopoly humbugs, are making a dishonest bid for votes when they promise to annihilate the trusts by law. These parties are powerless against the trusts because they cannot consistently oppose property rights of any kind. These rights are more sacred to them than the rights of man; but, alarmed by the growing strength of Socialism, they are now trying to use phrases that sound "socialistic" to them. Yet none of them dare to attack the only vital point in the present economic system, the private ownership of the means of production and distribution.
The trust question is a national question, but in state affairs also the Social Democratic party stands for every radical change that will bring more wealth, more culture and more safety to the masses of the people. The Social Democratic party believes in self-government for cities; in a just and equitable taxation, and in the highest development of a reasonable public service. We also demand better legislation for the protection of life and limb in factories and mines, the public ownership of public utilities as a fact and not as a mere phrase, and protection against hardship and misery in old age—not as a charity, but as a right. If we get the political power in this state, we will carry out these and other reforms.
But we call attention to the fact that the measures we urge are in no way a cure for all the existing evils, nor are they all Socialist institutions. They are to be viewed rather as mere palliatives, capable of being carried out even under the present conditions. Under no cir-

est, but the refund to take place in twenty years in equal shares. This money shall have its intrinsic value secured by the bonds and the assessed valuation of the city or township that receives the loan, and it shall be repaid with the bonds as fast as the loan is refunded.
6. That the state Legislature, the governor and our representatives in congress shall take the initiative to the effect that the United States constitution be so amended as to abolish the United States Senate, which is a bulwark of capitalism and trustocracy. Furthermore we demand that the United States judges shall be elected by the people of their respective districts, for terms not to exceed six years—this in order to make an end to government by injunction. We also demand that all elective offices, the judges included, shall be made subject to the imperative mandate, and to a recall by the expressed wish of three-fourths of their constituency.
7. That the state shall provide free schoolbooks and school utensils to the pupils of the public schools, and also to parochial and private schools who shall under certain legal conditions make demand for the same books. We also demand legislation enabling school districts in the country to give better school facilities and free transportation to a school for each child.
8. That laws be enacted limiting a working day of youths under 21 years of age and women of any age employed anywhere in Wisconsin to eight hours a day, and prohibiting the employment in any factory, store, workshop or mine, of children under 16 years of age.
9. That laws be enacted securing to cities local autonomy, with power to carry into effect all means relating to their own welfare, so long as they do not interfere with the rights of others.
10. That every city or township shall have the right to establish a public coal yard, and a public ice house, where coal and wood and ice shall be sold to the citizens at cost. Cities and townships shall also have the right to establish public abattoirs (slaughter houses) and to issue bonds for that purpose.
These are the demands of the Social Democratic party in Wisconsin. We call upon every intelligent voter of this state, regardless of race, nationality or religion, to join the Social Democratic party, vote its ticket, build up its organization, and stand shoulder to shoulder for a better order and a higher civilization. And especially to the economically oppressed we call in the words of the immortal Karl Marx:
"Proletarians of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain."

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IT TEACHES:
That poisons are not remedies.
That symptoms and pains are not the disease, but only the messengers bringing warning of the disease to the brain; that to silence the messengers and leave the disease unchecked is folly.
That prevention is better than cure; that the great elements of prevention are: knowledge of self; cleanliness, physical as well as moral and mental; hygiene and sanitation.
That mind and thought have their influence on bodily health no less than physical and material conditions. A healthy body needs a healthy mind, and a healthy mind makes a healthy body.
That Dr. Greer's book treats of all the topics and theories connected with the health of mind and body. "Investigate all things; hold on to that which is good," is the author's motto. Follow the teachings of wise Mother Nature.
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Social Democratic Herald,
614 State Street, Milwaukee, Wis., U. S. A.



TOWN TOPICS BY THE TOWN CRIER

Local interest among the workers the past week has centered in the strike of the Tanners' union, by which some 3,000 men quit their work and left the nine big tanneries at a standstill, for the first time in many years. The employing tanners were surprised at the completeness of the organization that has been going on the past half year. For ten years they had been over-awing the men so as to keep them from organizing, and as a result were able to keep wages down to a pitifully low rate. This enabled them to under-compete in the market, much to the annoyance of the eastern tanneries.

The Milwaukee tanners have lived ten years of hell, in order that the tannery proprietors might reap up great fortunes out of their industry, and the proprietors supposed the same evil influence could be kept up over the men forever. But the time comes when man, like the worm, will turn.

These tanners have been slaving away long hours from week end to week end, while the rise in the cost of living has been cutting into them

more and more. While the devils of poverty have been tweaking their noses and pinching their stomachs they have had their patience turned to exasperation by the sight of the riotous luxury of their exploiters. And now that they are asking a slight increase and better hours the exploiters cry out that they propose to "run their own business" as they please! It is nobody's business if they exploit their workers to the bone, of course!

The men gave the firms their ultimatum last Sunday, demanding a nine hour day at the old pay, with an hour less on Saturdays, and a 10-cent raise for piece-work (the cost of living has increased over 30 per cent, but the tanners are modest in their demands), and the employment of none but union men. The tannery bosses then asked for three days' time. That would enable them to get the skins out of the lime vats, so they could shut down without loss from that quarter. But the men were wise. That trick was played on them in the strike they lost in 1892, and so this time they refused the three days' asked for.

On Thursday there was a mix-up at the Gallun tannery and some broken bones. A. F. Gallun and his son, Arthur, early in the morning were leading a non-union man to the plant when some of the strikers appealed to the man not to work. Arthur Gallun thereupon hit one of the strikers on the back of the head with a club, and a riot followed in which the elder Gallun flourished a revolver! The capitalist Evening Wisconsin, eager to work up public sentiment against the strikers, came out with an extra with the heading: "Moh Violence at Gallun's Tannery. A. F. Gallun and His Son set upon by a Large Crowd of Strikers." And the Wisconsin is wont to warn people against class feeling!

The tannery bosses are an impudent lot. They believe in organization all right for themselves, but when the men organize it is wrong!

The Herald will be pleased to turn over to the strikers any donations that sympathizers may feel moved to make to cheer the boys on.

The fight of labor against the Los Angeles Times is gaining ground. Two more big advertisers pulled out last week.

FOURTEENTH WARD BRANCH meets last Sunday in month at 790 Forest Home avenue. Ole Oleson, 790 Forest Home avenue, Secretary.

FIFTEENTH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Tuesday at 1629 Vliet street. C. Zainer, Secretary, 1812 Cold Spring avenue.

SIXTEENTH WARD BRANCH meets first and third Thursdays. Jerome Underhill, Secretary, 38 Twenty-ninth street.

SEVENTEENTH WARD BRANCH meets second and fourth Wednesdays at Old Fellows' hall, Kinickinnick and Potter avenues. Edw. Behlendorf, Secretary, 230 Burrell street.

EIGHTEENTH WARD BRANCH meets second and fourth Friday evenings at 487 Cramer street, corner of Green-wich street. Thos. E. Hogg, Secretary, 487 Cramer street.

NINETEENTH WARD BRANCH meets every second and fourth Wednesday in the month in Meixner's hall, corner Twenty-seventh and Vliet streets. Louis Baier, Secretary, 558 Twenty-ninth street.

TWENTIETH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Thursday of the month in Folkman's hall, corner Twenty-first and Center streets. C. Wiesel, Secretary, 1224 Twenty-second street.

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We sometimes say, in joke, that we're "soul" agents, too.

Not so much joke when you come to think of it, though.

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Western Passenger Association, Chi-
cago, May 26, 1903.

Annual Picnic Social Democratic Party
of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wis.,
July 19, 1903.

Mr. H. W. Bistorius, Milwaukee, Wis.:
Referring to your favor of the 22nd
inst., and previous correspondence re-
garding reduced rates account above
named occasion.

After careful consideration our lines
have consented to make the following
arrangement, which we trust will be
satisfactory, viz:

Open rate of fare and one-third for
the round trip from points in Wiscon-
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in Milwaukee is \$3.00 or less; excursion
tickets to be sold on July 18th and 19th,
good to return leaving Milwaukee until
and including July 20th, 1903.

Tickets limited for going passage
commencing date of sale and for con-
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Respectfully,
F. L. E. MacLeod, Chairman.

MILWAUKEE BRANCHES.

FIRST WARD BRANCH meets every
second Tuesday in the month at 8
p. m. at 662 Market street. Richard
L. Schmitt 836 North Water street,
Secretary.

SECOND WARD BRANCH meets every
third Friday of the month, corner
Fourth and Chestnut streets. Fritz
Koll, 344 Eleventh street, Secretary.

THE FOURTH WARD BRANCH meets
each first and third Thursday at 428
Fowler street. R. H. Helming, Jr.,
Secretary.

FIFTH WARD BRANCH meets every
first and third Sunday, 2:30 p. m., at
National hall, National avenue and
Grove street. Thomas Reynolds, 432
Clinton street, Secretary.

SIXTH WARD BRANCH meets every
second Wednesday at 8 p. m. at 504
Fourth street. F. Ramsthal, 700
Booth street, Secretary.

SEVENTH WARD BRANCH meets
first and third Thursday evenings of
the month at Room 11, Third floor,
416 Milwaukee st. W. H. Stutz, 303
Broadway, secy.

EIGHTH WARD BRANCH meets every
first and third Sunday, 2:30 p. m., at
National hall, National avenue and
Grove street. John Knudson, Secre-
tary, 434 Fifth avenue.

NINTH WARD BRANCH meets every
first and third Thursday of the month
at 433 Eleventh street. Ed. Berner,
Secretary, 1315 Kinickinnick street.

TENTH WARD BRANCH meets on the
first and third Friday of the month
at Baha Frei Turner hall, Twelfth and
North avenue. Carl P. Dietz, Sec'y,
847 Ninth st.

ELEVENTH WARD BRANCH meets
every fourth Friday at Kroeslag's
hall, corner ninth avenue and Orchard
street. John Knudson, Secretary,
451 Grove street.

TWELFTH WARD BRANCH meets
first and third Thursdays at 657 Kin-
ickinnick avenue. George Russell,
Sec'y, 608 First ave.

THIRTEENTH WARD BRANCH meets
every second and fourth Wednesday
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Fred Baugher, 263 DuRum street, Se-
cretary.